

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 00299 201458Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-11 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 CU-02 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 AF-06 SAM-01 /086 W

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R 190845Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5278

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USUN NEW YORK 772

US NATO 1337

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 0299

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, YO, AO

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON CSCE DETENTE ANGOLA

REF : BELGRADE 5727, 30 OCTOBER 1975

1. SUMMARY: IN AN AUTHORATIVE ARTICLE, LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS (LCY) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MAMBER DOBRIVOJE VIDIC HAS DISCUSSED THE CURRENT STATE OF DETENTE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR AND THE FOLLOW-UP CSCE CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN BELGRADE IN 1977. END SUUMMARY.

2. VIDIC'S ARTICLE "THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE", APPEARED IN BOTH THE JANUARY 11
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 00299 201458Z

EDITION OF THE BELGRADE DAILY "BORBA" AND

THE JANUARY 12 ISSUE OF THE LCY WEEKLY "KOMUNIST". VIDIC IS A FOREIGN POLICY SPECIALIST AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED KINGDOM. HIS VIEWS ARE PRESUMED TO REFLECT THOSE OF THE SENIOR LCY LEADERSHIP.

3. HIS ARTICLE IS A NEW YEAR POTPOURRI ON THE STATUS OF DETENTE. VIDIC FINDS THAT DETENTE AND THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI ARE BEING UNDERMINED BY "BLOC THINKING". HE DEPLORES THIS TENDENCY, PARTICULARLY EVIDENT IN THE WEST, TO EVALUATE THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE IN TERMS OF GAINS OR LOSSES FOR THE MAJOR POWER BLOCS AND TO VIEW THE OBLIGATIONS IMPOSED BY THE FINAL ACT ONLY AS BINDING ON THE OPPOSING BLOC. SUCH AN ATTITUDE UNDERMINES RATHER THAN FURTHERS DETENTE IN VIDIC'S OPINION.

4. AS AN EXAMPLE OF BLOC THINKING, HE CITES US CRITICISM OF SOVIET AID TO THE MPLA IN ANGOLA. THIS CRITICISM, VIDIC SAYS, INDICATES THAT "CERTAIN CIRCLES" WANT TO EXPLOIT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT TO MAINTAIN SPHERES OF INTEREST. (HE DOES NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF AN EXPANDING SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE.) VIDIC SAYS THAT WESTERN OPPOSITION TO THE MPLA CONSTITUTES AN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT ANGOLA FROM CHOOSING ITS OWN SOCIAL SYSTEM JUST BECAUSE THAT SYSTEM MIGHT BE SOCIALIST. HE REJECTS SUCH "DOCTRINES OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY". "IN THIS QUESTION ONE MUST PROCEED FROM THE FACTS THAT THE NATION OF ANGOLA IS ENTITLED TO DEVELOP AND CONSOLIDATE ITS HARD WON FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND THAT IT HAS THE RIGHT TO EXPECT THE ASSISTANCE OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN THE WORLD."

5. IN PLACE OF "BLOC THINKING", VIDIC PROPOSES A NON-ALIGNED PERSPECTIVE. HE SEES THE NON-ALIGNED STATES AS "REPRESENTING THE BROADER INTERESTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY". HE BELIEVES THAT DETENTE MUST NOT BE LEFT MERELY TO THE GREAT POWERS, BUT MUST HAVE WORLDWIDE APPLICATION IF IT IS TO BE EFFECTIVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 00299 201458Z

TRUE SECURITY CAN ONLY BE BASED ON THE EQUALITY OF ALL STATES AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

6. IN THE SPECIFIC FIELD OF MILITARY COMPETITION, VIDIC ESPOUSES A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. IN THE ECONOMIC AREA, HE HOLDS THAT THE CREATION OF "A NEW SYSTEM OF EQUAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS" IS OF FUNDA-

MENTAL IMPORTANCE IN FOSTERING WORLDWIDE DETENTE.

7. AFTER NOTING AMERICAN "DISLIKE" OF ORGANIZED NON-ALIGNED ACTIVITY IN THE UN AND ELSEWHERE, VIDIC STATES, "AMERICAN DYNAMISM, WHICH HAS BEEN REFLECTED... IN THE GREAT GROWTH OF THE POPULATION, THE ECONOMY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING, HAS ITS LIMITS AND CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT EQUAL ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION..."

8. TURNING TO THE MEANING OF CSCE FOR YUGOSLAV FOREIGN POLICY IN PARTICULAR, VIDIC POINTS TO THE RECENT BORDER AGREEMENT WITH ITALY AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI. HE SAYS WORK IS SIMILARLY UNDERWAY TO SOLVE DIFFERENCES WITH AUSTRIA. HE BLASTS "GREATER BULGARIAN PRETENSIONS", HOWEVER, AND LAMBASTES SOFIA, WHERE HE HOPES THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI WILL SOMEDAY PENTRATE, FOR DENYING THE EXISTENCE OF THE MACEDONIAN MINORITY.

9. REGARDING THE CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN BELGRADE IN 1977, VIDIC CALLS FOR UNDERFINED "NEW INITIATIVES" RATHER THAN MERELY AN EVALUATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS.

10. COMMENT: PROBABLY BECAUSE OF LEADING ROLE IN EXTRA-EUROPEAN NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, YUGOSLAVS HAVE LONG STRUCK THEME THAT DETENTE MUST BE MADE BROADER AND NOT CONFINED ONLY TO EUROPE. JUDGING FROM VIDIC ARTICLE AT REVIEW CONFERENCE THEY WILL TRY TO DOWNPLAY RETROSPECTIVE EVALUATION OF PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING CSCE, CRITICIZE BOTH BLOCS, AND ENCOURAGE "NEW INITIATIVES". THESE MIGHT POSSIBLY INCLUDE WORLD

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BELGRA 00299 201458Z

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE OR BROADER, RATHER THAN STRICTLY EUROPEAN, DISCUSSION OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, DETENTE, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, JOURNALISTS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BELGRA00299
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760021-0259
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760145/aaaabock.tel
Line Count: 157
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 BELGRADE 5727
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON CSCE DETENTE ANGOLA
TAGS: PFOR, YO, AO, CSCE, (VIDIC, DOBRIVOJE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006